David Lawrence—

A Road Back to Appeasement?

Eisenhower Administration, in Answering McCarthy, Accused of Retreating to 'Truman-Acheson Policy'

The big retreat in American policy—retreat back to the Truman-Acheson foreign policy—has begun. It may yet involve not only recognition of Red China's government but an acquiescence in the resumption of trade by Great Britain and other governments with the Communist world. Red China, although declared an aggressor by the United Nations, is to be treated as an equal because the allies so will it.

On the surface, the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, hit back at Senator McCarthy's criticism of foreign policy but there have been in the past so many other differences of opinion expressed by Senator Knowland and other Republican members of Congress without evoking a public rebuttal from the Department of State that this could not be the main reason for the pointed statement virtually yielding to the allies what they have been asking for in recent months.

All this comes on the eve of the Bermuda conference of the Big Three and just before the forthcoming meeting with Soviet Russia's Foreign Minister in Berlin.

The critics of the President and the Secretary of State who have been trying to drive a wedge between many millions of Republicans—of whom Senator McCarthy is only one—and the White House now have succeeded at last. But this is not because the Wisconsin Senator made a severe criticism of the administration. It is because the Secretary of State has just announced a turn in American policy which sets the stage not only for the failure of the whole Korean negotiation but for more trouble in the Far East as Syngman Rhee reads his death warrant in the statement just issued by Mr. Dulles.

The Secretary's declaration said in part:

"Today it is to our interest to assist certain countries. But that does not give us the right to try to take them over, to dictate their trade policies and to make them our satellites.

"Indeed, we do not want weak or subservient allies. Our friends and allies are dependable just because they are unwilling to be any one's satellites. They will freely sacrifice much in a common effort. But they will be no more subservient to the United States than they will be subservient to Soviet Russia."

The foregoing, almost verbatim, has been the British argument for the last three years. It means that the allies will trade with Soviet Russia hereafter or with Communist China and that they will be permitted to forget that, when American boys were dying in Korea, British exports of rubber to Soviet Russia and thus to Red China were helping the Communist war effort.

Whether the allies did "freely sacrifice much in a common effort" is a question that the record in Korea answers. For America, together with the South Korean government, supplied nearly all the manpower and warmaking supplies while the allies insisted on dictating to the American commander in chief, General MacArthur, that he must not use maximum military power to defeat the enemy.

But when the term "satellites" is used along with "allies," it may well be asked why the United States has dictated to and indeed is getting ready to "coerce" an ally and make of the South Korean regime a "satellite" just because the European allies demand that this be done. There is no secret about the viewpoint of the London government toward the government of Syngman Rhee. Now that Secretary Dulles has declared publicly that what the allies say is to be American policy, notwithstanding our fundamental objections heretofore, it may be taken for granted that the road to appeasement has been opened and that South Korea is to be sacrificed, after all. It means that, despite the casualties incurred by 140,000 Americans, the original objective of repelling aggression is not to be achieved.

The Chinese Communists, who were not in Korea before the aggression started, are still there and will remain there because the allies are willing to accept Red China into the United Nations. America now says, in effect, that it must agree to whatever Great Britain and the other countries want or lose military bases they give us in Europe.

Hence American taxpayers are to be asked to continue to pay huge sums to European countries as a means of influencing those governments to let America have bases abroad. Such military co-operation should be given to American air forces without strings or concessions or bribes if it aids the defense of the European countries themselves. To confess openly American subservience to its European allies and to disregard the moral principle on which the American case rests is not the way to preserve American leadership or to maintain the self-respect of the United States in the world.

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News Blackout

Dorothy Thompson—

An Odd Approach to Diplomacy

State Department Is Criticized for Letting World Know That We Hope to Use Parley for Cold-War Victory

Mr. Dulles has himself described Mr. Molotov as "a diplomat of consummate skill, seldom equalled in the history of diplomacy."

This being so, it would be wise to try to match and surpass that skill.

The view taken in Washington and purveyed in the American press is that the latest Soviet note, accepting the invitation of the Western powers to a conference without setting down preconditions bound to be unacceptable, proves that the Soviets realize that they overplayed their hand in the earlier note, with unfavorable international repercussions.

The earlier note gave the impression that the Soviets were deliberately preventing the meeting which public opinion, in Europe at least, holds to be greatly desirable.

The State Department admits that the second note, accepting the invitation, is diplomatically adroit and extremely well timed, with a view to causing further hesitation on the part of the French and compelling the Bermuda conference to revamp plans that—following the earlier Soviet note—had been based on the assumption that Moscow was unwilling to negotiate.

In short, the earlier note was diplomatically bad because it appeared to make the Soviets responsible for continuing the cold war.

But Washington's reaction to the new note indicates that the United States, initially less than enthusiastic about having the conference, now welcomes it as a golden opportunity to put Russia on the spot; as a means, not of achieving a possible settlement, but as a propaganda instrument for continuing and intensifying the cold war.

Now, it may well be that this is also the Russian aim; that the Soviets neither anticipate nor desire a settlement which would involve any concessions whatsoever on their part; that they, too, see the conference purely as a move in "psychological warfare." But if they do they are not advertising that this is their attitude, as the State Department is.

Ray Cromley, writing from Washington in the Wall Street Journal, fully exposed the American strategy that will be suggested to our allies in Bermuda—exactly what line Mr. Dulles will take at the parley with the Soviets (if it comes off); exactly what hopes he intends to awaken, especially in the Germans; exactly what proposals he will offer the Russians; and exactly the aim of his strategy—to get the Russians out of Germany as a preface to rolling them farther back, with no concessions of Western policy, and, if they refuse, "show them up before the world as imperialistic."

The avowed object of our foreign policy is to seek peaceful settlements. But if the aim of a conference is to achieve a settlement, reasonably safe and satisfactory for all concerned, intelligent diplomacy would emphasize that aim, and would certainly not announce to the world that the aim is to achieve a cold-war victory over one of the participants. Nor would it outline, and in advance, the strategy and tactics by which that victory is to be realized!

No one begins a chess game by telling his opponent every move he intends to make and how he intends to follow it up.

The diplomatic error of the first Russian note was to incur the odium of continuing the cold war. If that odium again shifts to the United States—because we tell the world that we welcome the conference as a propaganda opportunity—we shall serve Soviet diplomacy, not our own.

Fletcher Knebel—

Potomac Fever

Secretary Dulles blasts Senator Joe McCarthy. Joe isn't worried about what the foreign policy boss says—McCarthy long ago decided to outlaw foreign affairs.

* * * *

The Air Force sets up cameras to take pictures of flying saucers. You can bet the flying saucers don't come from the Pentagon. The military brass would never throw away a saucer—without a full dinner service for 12 after it.

* * * *

Democrats cheer Secretary of State Dulles' attack on Joe McCarthy. The only thing a Democrat enjoys more than a fight between two Republicans is one between two Democrats.

* * * *

The telephone company announces the first phone cable will be laid underseas between the United States and England. Pretty soon you'll be able to dial Liverpool—and find out why they dislike us as much as they do in London.

* * * *

Treasury Secretary Humphrey says the Ike team hasn't given up "hope" of a balanced budget. Apparently this administration's credit is still good—Humphrey's still borrowing figures of speech from the last one.

* * * *

Russia's Vishinsky demands a quorum call in the United Nations. Vishinsky gets so embarrassed speaking to empty seats that he's been known to distort the wrong falsehoods.

* * * *

The Justice Department investigates a "three-percenter" deal in Thailand tungsten. The five-percenters complain it's a clear violation of the fair trade laws in influence peddling.

Constantine Brown—

Looking Into History

Again, as in 1936, Britain and France Seem Ready to Appease a Dictator

Telegrams and letters are reaching the State Department from administration legislators showing "apprehension" over the possibility of a conference between the top leaders of the Western allies and the U. S. S. R. and China.

There seems to be no such apprehension over a foreign ministers' parley which is expected to take place some time next month in Berlin. This can be described as a routine gathering with the sole purpose of discussing the German and Austrian peace treaties, which have been sabotaged by the Kremlin diplomats for so many years.

But a conference between President Eisenhower and Prime Ministers Churchill and Laniel on the one hand and Malenkov and probably Mao Tse-tung on the other is something entirely different.

The consensus of many political observers in this country is that such a gathering, in which representatives of our allies may want to obtain a solution of the cold war regardless of price, would be as detrimental to the peace of the world as the appeasement policy toward Hitler was in 1936.

The Western world may be able to take a short leave from the specter of war by accepting the Kremlin's peace dove. But eventually such appeasement will lead either to war or to acceptance of Communist domination, particularly in Asia.

World War II was made possible by the weak-kneed attitude of France and Britain toward Hitler when the Austrian maniac launched ill-prepared forces into the Rhineland in March, 1936. Some members of the French government wanted to reply by a move to expel those troops, by force if necessary.

According to official documents made available to the allies after Hitler's defeat in 1945, the German Wehrmacht generals opposed Hitler's adventure. They correctly pointed out that France was overwhelmingly superior to Germany. It had more planes, men, tanks and artillery. Hitler answered the statistical observations of the general staff with the words, "Divisions do not count unless they have the will to fight."

Whether at that time, when France began to be corroded by communism, the will to fight existed or not is difficult to say. There is no question, however, that the determination of a number of French politicians to reply to force with force was dampened by the London government. The French were informed that Britain would not condone any "reckless" step on their part, even a partial mobilization.

The French were afraid of facing the 65 million Germans without Britain's support and Hitler got away with the remilitarization of the Rhineland. But what is far more important, he greatly increased his personal prestige in Germany and the rest of Europe.

The immediate specter of war had disappeared insofar as the public was concerned. It was being skillfully concealed by the British and French governments. When it showed itself again three years later it was no longer a specter but a cruel, stark reality.

But during those three years, while Germany was swapping butter for bullets, the public outside the totalitarian countries lived in a fool's paradise. The people became convinced that war had been averted even if the price was the sacrifice of some lands to Hitler's Germany. When the final blow fell in 1939 the supposedly powerful Britain and France reeled until America threw its full weight on their side.

The cliche that history repeats can aptly be applied to the present situation toward which our British and French allies seem to be moving. They seem intent on dragging us into the same pattern into which they dragged Europe before the last war, because the Foreign Office said the Quai d'Orsay is convinced that "realistic concessions" to the U. S. S. R.'s point of view, such as acceptance of the Peiping government into the concert of world powers, can hurt nobody and will help world peace.

France was warned by Britain in the spring of 1936 that if it made a show of force against Hitler's action in the Rhineland it would have to face the German power alone. There are strong reasons to believe that hints have been given to Washington now that if we persist in our refusal to accept Moscow's demands to bring China into the concert of world powers we may have to face a war in the Far East by ourselves. The most we can expect from our present allies would be a neutral attitude, which would not preclude, however, trade in strategic and other materials with the belligerents.

These hints, couched in the usual honeyed diplomatic language, have already made a slight impression on a number of lesser policy makers in the Government who are beginning to wonder whether it would not be wise to be less adamant about China.

In the past we have faced enemies alone. But in recent years many of our leaders have been haunted by the fear that we may have to face powerful opponents alone. And they do not believe that we could meet major emergencies without allies. This psychology has cost the taxpayer untold billions of dollars in cash and substance. We may find ourselves soon facing an impasse in which we shall have to choose between yielding to our allies and accepting the Kremlin's phony peace dove or "go it alone."

Doris Fleeson—

Dulles' Sharp Jab at McCarthy

White House Believed to Feel That Brownell Charges Gained Votes for Senator, Lost Some for President

Secretary of States Dulles has told Senator McCarthy to stay out of the Dulles back yard. Whether he can make it stick depends upon President Eisenhower, who appears headed toward another historic press conference.

It is the President who must be looked to for evidence on how deeply administration policy toward McCarthy is involved in the Dulles statement. Until he speaks, a current report must be only wishful thinking.

That report says that the White House has found out that the new Brownell strategy has served only to gain votes for McCarthy and lose them for Eisenhower. It is based on information that White House mail has been heavily in favor of the Senator since the famed telecast "reply to Truman" which he made also an attack upon the President's conduct of foreign policy.

Everybody who signs his name publicly or speaks up on current issues can certify to the fact that the McCarthy admirers are great letter writers. True, they very often don't sign their names, sensibly mindful of the postal inspectors, but they are a major amelioration of the Post Office deficit.

Whatever happens next, some facets of the situation are clear.

The Secretary of State has made his path rougher on Capitol Hill, where McCarthy can muster a hard and reckless core of opposition. But it is equally true that he has greatly strengthened himself abroad, where even the casual traveler has noted McCarthy's blighting effect upon allied confidence in the United States.

It is a real question whether Mr. Dulles could have sat quiet under the McCarthy "perfumed note" attack and still appear to other countries to enjoy essential personal dignity and courage. Whatever happens next, he has shown that disposition to fight for his own department which is an absolute prerequisite to successful Government administration.

The "perfumed note" motif is of course a McCarthy specialty perfected in his long vendetta against Dean Acheson. It is designed to convey, like the Senator's frequent use of the "lace handkerchief" phrase, not just weakness but a loathsome effeminacy. Short of actual libel, it is about as far as he can go.

This is the Senator's own extension of the "cookie-pusher" attacks on the State Department indulged in by older and less rugged generations of isolationists. Such attacks are an old problem of Secretaries of State, who lack those contacts with the grass roots by which their cabinet colleagues can strengthen themselves for contests with Congress.

It is possible that Secretary Dulles also wished to discourage Chairman Jenner of the Senate Internal Security Committee from further trespass. Senator Jenner in his hot pursuit of Igor Gouzenko, the Russian who enabled Canada to uncover her spy ring, has managed to offend this country's northern neighbor mightily. Canadian reporters say that Jenner has undone all the good President Eisenhower's visit to their country did.

The Senator, with whom Attorney General Brownell had hoped to work with such dignity, bypassing the unpleasant connotations of McCarthyism, has just made public Gouzenko testimony which is still classified by Canada. A new Canadian protest is expected momentarily.

The current developments which emphasize the split in the Republican Party are bound to give rise to the old demand for an impartial commission to take over the problem of Communists in Government. Each heated chapter, however makes it more difficult to establish that solution.

Thomas L. Stokes—

Republican Hopes in California

Things Look Good for G. O. P., With Three of Their Men In Top National Posts; but a Conflict Is Seen Certain

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 2.—Republicans are highly pleased with their situation in this great bellwether State of the West.

Indeed, they do seem to be in excellent shape. They enjoy recognition and prestige in the Eisenhower administration in the Nation's Chief Justice, Earl Warren, for so long their Governor; in its Vice President, Richard M. Nixon, and in the administration's Senate leader, William F. Knowland. They have a smooth-running organization here, the same that swept the State into the Eisenhower column last November. They have plenty of money available from affluent interests which are seeking a bigger stake in Government than they enjoyed under the three-time Governor who now has retired behind the velvet curtain of the Supreme Court clear across the continent.

Just now, Republicans are luxuriating in a triumph that won national attention. It would have been counted only a minor triumph ordinarily, the election of a Republican to the House of Representatives in this city's normally Republican 24th district. But it came at a desperate time psychologically when Republican spirits were low because of the successive defeats in districts in Wisconsin and New Jersey that never before had sent Democrats to Washington. Intense organization well financed turned the trick here in the 24th at the eleventh hour.

What happens henceforth in this State politically promises to be as dramatic and entertaining as anything we shall see anywhere because of certain eventual national effects, aside from the rough and tumble and color always characteristic of California politics.

Among Republicans, there is involved first a struggle within the party between the Warren progressive element and the conservatives over the philosophy and direction of the party, and second, an interplay of personalities over control of the party. This they see threatened by the manifest eagerness of powerful economic interests, oil and utilities among them, to dominate the party and its future program. The odds, it is true, would seem to be with the conservatives now that Earl Warren has departed these parts; for the current dual control shared by Vice President Nixon and Senator Knowland, the joint legatees, embodies the conservatism of these two younger men.

The man Earl Warren left behind him in the Governor's chair, Goodwin J. ("Goodie") Knight, former Lieutenant Governor, appears satisfactory generally to the conservatives. He differed with former Gov. Warren on important issues. He has demonstrated a convenient opportunism in the effort to please everybody. He seems now almost a sure winner for re-election next year. The amiable gentleman with a pleasing personality—what in other times and places would be called a "fried chicken and barbecue" politician—has had for years one consuming ambition, to be Governor. He became Lieutenant Governor in 1946. He has truly been a sort of Governor without portfolio almost as long as John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State without portfolio.

Both finally made it. Both want to hold it.

Gov. Knight's aim is to keep on good terms with both Vice President Nixon and Senator Knowland. He does not know, any more than anybody else, which of these two may end up on top and it may well be some time before there is a showdown, perhaps as far off as 1956 when control of the delegation to the national convention will be at stake. Lieutenants of each insist they get along fine together, which they naturally must do at this stage, and pooh-pooh any fight between them for control of the State.

One may accept this diagnosis for the moment without blinding oneself to plain human nature in politics, the course of which frequently is that two ambitious men from the same State, both in this case in fact with eyes on the White House, do come into conflict despite everything.

The Vice President certainly is losing no time, nor are his henchmen, as it is quickly discovered in his domain here in Southern California. He is getting reflected glory from the recent congressional election here. The victor, Glenard P. Lipscomb, was his candidate; the successful campaign was managed by Murray M. Chotiner, who was Nixon manager in the vice presidential campaign last year. It is also learned that the Nixon forces are quietly going about building up an organization, starting where it is best to start, at the precinct level.

DAV Donates $650

Arlington Chapter No. 10, Disabled American Veterans, has given $650 to Anderson Orthopedic Hospital for new orthopedic equipment. The hospital lends the equipment to outpatients. The chapter has contributed several thousand dollars to the project.

Defense Plant Goal Short in 68 Fields

By the Associated Press

Defense plant expansion still is short of the Government's goal in 68 essential industries, the Office of Defense Mobilization reported today.

ODM Director Arthur S. Fleming called on private firms in these fields to apply for "certificates of necessity" entitling them to Federal tax assistance in building up defense-important plants and equipment to the point of mobilization readiness.

His invitation followed ODM's announcement last night that 120 of the defense expansion goals have been achieved, either by actual construction or by announced plans for construction. No more certificates will be granted in these fields, ODM said.

In 49 other industries, including those providing several major military items, issuance of certificates has been suspended pending study as to whether greater capacity will be needed.

In the suspended group are military planes and vehicles, machine tools, electric power, ordnance facilities, nitrogen, and railroad terminal and road facilities.

The fields now closed to tax assistance because of goals attained include blast furnaces, lumber, mining machinery, rubber and rubber products, storage batteries, oil wells, newsprint and other paper and paperboard, metal cans, steel ingots and many chemicals.

Young Democrats Club Formed in Falls Church

The Young Democrats Club of the 10th district in Virginia was organized at a meeting in the Dardanelles Restaurant in Falls Church last night.

Temporary officers chosen were Emory Reisinger, chairman; Brian Bell, vice chairman, and Miss Dorothy Duncan, secretary-treasurer.

The next meeting is scheduled for January 6.

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